

[P. 96]

- 103 4. telwe'yit: a Tachi village
5. ugonə
131 6. hono'tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. č'i'yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa'šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai' u
10. u'djiu
11. go'lon
12. č'i
13. yi'mel
14. waita čuiyui
15. pi'aras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu ta
17. wit'solo'win: a Wowol island village
18. wa'lna
19. yiwo'mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu'tnu: a Wowol village²⁶

Two places not definitely located were:
21. wo'kon; 22. miki'yit, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu.
[207] Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made.

727 Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles,
624 though the account secured by Newman (see below)
726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho'toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely were more than two or three persons killed.

726 J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.
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That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.²⁷ This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

²⁶Possibly the Wowol village called "Dubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archaeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

²⁷Kroeber, *The Yokuts Language*, 274.

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592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Ploayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

[166] When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was
648 little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chuckchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork (Western Mono locality). This man maybe had not done right by some Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chuckchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chuckchansi would kill another Chuckchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded [727] was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.⁶²

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

⁶²J.R. probably had not yet been born.

[P. 177 a] Chuckchansi

726 here [Chuckchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got some whites who were running away. They brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

728 That was about the end of the fighting. These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

648 The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.⁸³

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians.

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

[252] All informants said that all members of a family present ate simultaneously at meals.

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⁸³Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group. 616 622

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion. 624 [361] [651]

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiuta*, Yauelmani *hiletis*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures. 522 838 767 624

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people. 648

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts 727 773

- 727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

- 436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the

- 436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
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184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

- 436 Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.
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GREETINGS.

- 576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *me-wit hida*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

- 805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tawahi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

- 644 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the
[641] cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

- 846 Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel, and others for several months.

- 841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be connected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less
[821] scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.